

Message Text

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ORIGIN SS-25

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FM SECSTATE WASHDC
TO AMEMBASSY BEIRUT IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY AMMAN IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY CAIRO IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY DAMASCUS IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY TEL AVIV IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY KUWAIT IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY JIDDA IMMEDIATE
USMISSION USUN NEW YORK IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY LONDON IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY PARIS IMMEDIATE
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S E C R E T STATE 174090

EXDIS, ROME FOR VATICAN OFFICE

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS:

SUBJECT: LEBANON: NEXT STEPS TO DEFUSE CRISIS

1. A TENUOUS CEASEFIRE CONTINUES TO HOLD IN BEIRUT BUT THE
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SITUATION REMAINS EXTREMELY DANGEROUS. BOTH SIDES ARE BEING
REINFORCED AND ARE CONTINUING TO MAKE HARDLINE PUBLIC STATE-
MENTS. PURPOSE OF THIS MESSAGE IS TO USE THE PRESENT RESPITE
TO SHARE OUR THINKING WITH HOST GOVERNMENTS ON LOGICAL
AND PRACTICAL NEXT STEPS WE CAN TAKE TO DEFUSE THE CRISIS.
SOME POSSIBILITIES MAY NOT APPEAR TO BE IMMEDIATELY
PRACTICAL BUT WE BELIEVE WE MUST FOSTER THE PERCEPTION THAT

THERE ARE ALTERNATIVES TO RENEWED CONFRONTATION.

2. THE SECRETARY IN JULY 10 PRESS CONFERENCE SPOKE OF REDUCING THE ARMS IN THE AREA. THAT SHOULD BE THE BASIC THRUST OF OUR POSITION. OUR THINKING CONTINUES TO BE THAT IN BEIRUT, DAMASCUS, AND TEL AVIV WE SHOULD WORK TO PROMOTE A DISENGAGEMENT OF THE FORCES ON THE GROUND, A LOWERING OF THE VISIBILITY OF THE MILITIAS IF THEY CANNOT BE WITHDRAWN COMPLETELY, THEIR REPLACEMENT BY LEBANESE POLICE AND ARMY UNITS, AND A GENERAL WITHDRAWAL FROM POSSIBLE FLASH POINTS BY MILITIAS AND THE ADF. BOUTROS HAS TOLD PARKER THAT NEGOTIATIONS ON DISENGAGEMENT IN EAST BEIRUT HAVE MADE SOME PROGRESS, AND THIS IS ENCOURAGING.

3. AT SOME POINT, HOWEVER, IN ORDER TO ENSURE THAT THESE TACTICAL ARRANGEMENTS DO NOT COME UNSTUCK, THEY WILL HAVE TO BE PUT WITHIN A LARGER ARAB AND/OR INTERNATIONAL CONTEXT. THE KUWAITI FOREIGN MINISTER IS APPARENTLY SUGGESTING A RETURN TO THE BASIC PRINCIPLES CONTAINED IN THE ARAB RESOLUTIONS SETTING UP THE ADF AT CAIRO AND RIYADH, I.E., THAT IT IS UNDER THE PERSONAL COMMAND OF THE LEBANESE PRESIDENT, AND THAT ALL SIDES, INCLUDING THE PALESTINIANS, SHOULD GIVE UP THEIR HEAVY WEAPONS. THIS MAY NOT BE PRACTICAL NOW FOR OBVIOUS REASONS BUT STILL SEEMS TO BE AN OBJECTIVE WORTH WORKING TOWARD. OUR ROLE WOULD BE TO INSURE THAT DISARMAMENT OF THE FACTIONS TAKES
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PLACE IN A BALANCED WAY, WITH BEIRUT AS A STARTING POINT. THE U.S., LEBANESE GOVERNMENT LEADERS, AND EVEN THE ISRAELIS WOULD HAVE TO PERSUADE OR EXERT PRESSURE ON THE MILITIAS AND AS A QUID PRO QUO THE SYRIANS WOULD HAVE TO DO THE SAME WITH THE PALESTINIANS. BOTH SIDES SHOULD BE ENCOURAGED TO DISARM ON A PARALLEL TRACK. WE WILL HAVE TO AVOID ANY ENDORSEMENT OF THE PORTIONS OF THE RIYADH AND CAIRO RESOLUTIONS WHICH CALL INTER ALIA FOR "SAFEGUARDING THE PALESTINIAN RESISTANCE AS REPRESENTED BY THE PLO." THE SAUDI ROLE WILL OBVIOUSLY BE CRUCIAL, AND JIDDA HAS BEEN SENT SEPARATE INSTRUCTIONS ON SHARING OUR THINKING WITH THE SAUDIS.

4. ADDRESSEES SHOULD SHARE THESE IDEAS URGENTLY WITH HOST GOVERNMENTS AT APPROPRIATELY HIGH LEVEL DRAWING ON PREVIOUS GUIDANCE AND MAKING CLEAR WE WILL WELCOME THEIR REACTIONS.

5. FOR USUN: WOULD APPRECIATE YOUR VIEWS ON FOLLOWING: SECRETARY GENERAL WALDHEIM WILL VISIT KHARTOUM NEXT WEEK FOR THE OAU SUMMIT WHICH OPENS JULY 17. WE BELIEVE IT MIGHT BE WORTHWHILE TO ENCOURAGE HIM TO VISIT DAMASCUS

AND BEIRUT TO DISCUSS WAYS OF MAINTAINING THE PRESENT
CEASEFIRE AND PROMOTING THE LONGER TERM GOALS OF DISARM-
AMENT OF THE FACTIONS AND REASSERTION OF CENTRAL LEBANESE
GOVERNMENT AUTHORITY. WALDHEIM'S TRIP TO THESE CAPITALS
COULD BE BILLED AS ESSENTIALLY A FACT-FINDING MISSION BUT
IT COULD SERVE THE PURPOSE OF GETTING THE UN MORE DIRECTLY
INVOLVED AND COMPLEMENTING OUR OWN DIPLOMATIC EFFORTS
TOWARD A MORE PERMANENT SOLUTION TO THE PROBLEM. WE MIGHT
ALSO PROMOTE WITH WALDHEIM THE IDEA OF BOOSTING THE LEVEL
OF UNSYG REPRESENTATION IN BEIRUT
VANCE

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